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CONFIDENTIAL POSS DUPE

PAGE 01 PORT A 00439 01 OF 04 171604Z

45

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

AID-05 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03

CIEP-01 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 AGR-05 OES-03 IO-11

DLOS-04 SNM-02 SY-05 CU-02 DHA-02 INSE-00 SCS-03

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INFO AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO

AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 PORT AU PRINCE 0439

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TAGS: PFOR, HA, US

SUBJECT: REVIEW OF ISSUES AFFECTING US-HAITIAN BILATERAL RELATIONS

1. SUMMARY: AT THE OUTSET OF 1976, IN THE MISSION'S JUDGEMENT, US-HAITIAN RELATIONS REMAIN STEADILY ON COURSE, AND DESPITE A MIXED OR UNSATISFACTORY RECORD IN SOME AREAS, PROSPECTS ARE GOOD FOR CONSOLIDATING OVER THE COMING YEAR THE PROGRESS MADE IN 1975 ON SEVERAL KEY ISSUES. AREAS OF SATISFACTORY PROGRESS INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING:

--NEGOTIATION OF A MULTIFIBER BILATERAL TEXTILE AGREEMENT (ENDING A YEAR-LONG IMPASSE) AND CONCLUSION OF A NEW GOH-REYNOLDS BAUXITE CONTRACT (DEFUSING A POINT OF NATIONALISTIC CONFRONTATION WITH A TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATION).

--REAFFIRMING ITS COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE GOH HAS MADE LARGER CONTRIBUTIONS TO ITS OWN DEVELOPMENT BUDGET AND HAS MET ITS COUNTERPART OBLIGATIONS TO THE US

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PAGE 02 PORT A 00439 01 OF 04 171604Z

AND TO OTHER FOREIGN AID DONORS.

--HAITI HAS CONTINUED TO SUPPORT US POSITIONS IN THE UN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, OFTEN STANDING APART FROM THIRD WORLD MAJORITIES BY DOING SO, AND ON BASIC FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES WORKS IN PARALLEL WITH US.

--US-HAITIAN COOPERATION ON VARIOUS SECURITY AND LEGAL MATTERS HAS BEEN GROWING CLOSER.

--OUR INFORMATION AND CULTURAL DIPLOMACY IN HAITI HAS BEEN THRIVING, GENERATING MANY FAVORABLE RESPONSES.

--HAITI'S DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION IN THE US HAS BEEN VASTLY IMPROVED UNDER AMBASSADOR SALOMON.

IN OTHER AREAS OF BILATERAL INTEREST, 1975 BROUGHT A MIXED PICTURE:

--THE PRIVATE SECTOR OF HAITI'S ECONOMY SHOWED LITTLE NEW MOVEMENT TO ACCOMPANY THE RAPID GROWTH OF OFFICIAL FOREIGN AID; THE GOH DID NOT MANAGE ITS BELEAGUERED BALANCE OF PAYMENTS OR ITS REGULATED ENTERPRISES AS SKILLFULLY AS IT MIGHT HAVE; NOR DID IT DO ITS BEST TO ATTRACT NEW PRIVATE FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

--IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE GOH TOOK SOME STEPS TO REHABILITATE NORMAL PROCESSES OF JUSTICE, AND SHOWED INCREASING TOLERANCE FOR FREEDOM OF CRITICAL EXPRESSION. IT RELEASED SOME MORE POLITICAL PRISONERS, AND GAVE GENTLE TREATMENT TO THE GROWING NUMBER OF ILLEGAL EMIGRANTS BEING DEPORTED BACK TO HAITI.

--NEVERTHELESS, EVER SENSITIVE ABOUT FOREIGN INTERFERENCE, THE GOH DID NOT DO AS MUCH AS IT COULD HAVE TO CONVINCE DOUBTING OPINION IN THE U.S. AND ELSEWHERE THAT HAITIANS ARE NOW REASONABLY SAFE FROM ARBITRARY OR VIOLENT TREATMENT BY THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT.

--BECAUSE OF HAITI'S CONTINUED POVERTY AND GROWING POPULATION, THE PRESSURES TO EMIGRATE TO THE U.S. ARE INCREASING INEXORABLY. WE ARE WORKING HARD TO REDUCE THE LARGE VOLUME
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PORT A 00439 01 OF 04 171604Z

OF ATTEMPTED VISA PUSHING AND VISA FRAUD, WITH APPRECIABLE SUCCESS. THOUGH WE RECENTLY ENCOUNTERED EMOTIONAL OUTBURSTS PRIVATELY EXPRESSED BY KEY GOH OFFICIALS, WE BELIEVE THEY ACCEPT, AT LEAST FOR NOW, THE MANNER IN WHICH THE EMBASSY MUST HANDLE VISA MATTER. THE GOH HAS GENERALLY RETREATED FROM ITS PREVIOUS LEVEL OF INTERFERENCE IN INDIVIDUAL CASES.

--AFTER A FEW LAPSES, WE OBTAINED IMPROVED GOH POLICE COOPERATION ON CONSULAR ACCESS TO DETAINED AMERICANS AND ON THE TREATMENT OF AMERICAN PLEASURE CRAFT IN REMOTE COASTAL AREAS.

FINALLY, THERE WERE SOME AREAS WHERE OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS SEEM TO HAVE MADE LITTLE OR NO PROGRESS -- CALLING PERHAPS FOR NEW TYPES OF APPROACHES ON OUR PART:

--THE HANDFUL OF "PERENNIAL" US INVESTORS' DISPUTES WITH THE GOH REMAIN AT VARIOUS STAGES OF IMPASSE, AND ONE OR TWO OF THEM (WHATEVER THE FLAWS IN THEIR MERITS) COULD ENDANGER HAITI'S CONTINUED ELIGIBILITY FOR AID ASSISTANCE AND GSP IF WE DO NOT MANAGE TO PERSUADE THE GOH TO BE MORE FLEXIBLE AND TO RENEW A DIALOGUE WITH THE PRIVATE PARTIES.

--A CONTINUING SORE POINT WITH ALL CONCERNED WITH HAITI'S DEVELOPMENT IS THE DUVALIERISTS' FIRM ATTACHMENT TO THEIR "NON-FISCALIZED" FINANCIAL SECTOR ADMINISTERED BY THE SECRETIVE REGIE DU TABAC. SOME SMALL MOVEMENT TOWARD DIVERTING SOME OF ITS RESOURCES OPENLY FOR DEVELOPMENT PURPOSES MAY BE IN THE OFFING, BUT THE REGIE GENERALLY REMAINS AN UNTOUCHABLE INSTRUMENT OF PERSONALIST RULE AND A SERIOUS BLEMISH ON THE GOH'S READINESS TO MOBILIZE ITS OWN RESOURCES FULLY FOR CONSTRUCTIVE PURPOSES.

THUS, WITH A NUMBER OF UNSETTLED ISSUES AND WITH GROWING AREAS OF DAY-TO-DAY US-HAITIAN COOPERATION, THE VOLUME AND SCOPE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS ARE CONTINUING TO INCREASE -- IN MARKED CONTRAST TO THE PERIOD WHEN "PAPA DOC" DUVALIER REDUCED BILATERAL RELATIONS TO QUASI-ISOLATION. END SUMMARY.

2. AREAS SHOWING SATISFACTORY PROGRESS:

CONFIDENTIAL
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PAGE 04 PORT A 00439 01 OF 04 171604Z

A. ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL ISSUES

(I) WE NOW APPEAR TO HAVE WITHIN OUR GRASP A MULTIFIBER BILATERAL TEXTILE AGREEMENT, AFTER MORE THAN A YEAR OF UNCERTAINTY OVER BURGEONING HAITIAN EXPORTS OF SENSITIVE TEXTILE ITEMS TO THE U.S., AND AFTER UNILATERAL USG RECOURSE TO ARTICLE 3 ACTION ON SOME ITEMS.

(II) IN 1975 WE ALSO NEGOTIATED SUCCESSFULLY AN AGREEMENT RESTRAINING HAITIAN MEAT EXPORTS TO THE U.S. AND AN AMENDMENT TO THE US-HATIAN AGREEMENT ON OPIC ACTIVITIES. THOUGH THESE TOUCHED NO VITAL HAITIAN INTERESTS, THERE WERE ADMINISTRATIVE DELAYS WHICH WERE EVENTUALLY OVERCOME.

(III) REYNOLDS METALS AND THE GOH REACHED A DEFINITIVE AGREEMENT ON TAXES AND LOCAL OPERATIONS IN THE FALL OF 1975, LEADING TO SMOOTH WORKING RELATIONS AND ASSURANCES OF SUBSTANTIALLY LARGER GOH FISCAL REVENUE FOR THREE YEARS AT ISSUE. RENEWAL

OF SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT BE NEEDED BEFORE LATE 1976.

(IV) THE GOH CREATED A NEW INSTITUTE FOR MINERALS DEVELOPMENT, AN AUTHORITY WHICH HAS DONE A GOOD DEAL TO ADMINISTER THE GOH'S MINING AND MINERALS POLICIES IN A MORE ORDERLY MANNER AND TO PROVIDE A REGULAR POINT OF CONTACT FOR INTERESTED FOREIGN FIRMS. THE INSTITUTE HAS APPROVED A COPPER EXPLORATION CONCESSION FOR KENNECOTT, AS WELL AS A WORKING CONTRACT FOR THE FRENCH FIRM PENNAROYA.

(V) US CONTRACTORS WERE SUCCESSFUL BIDDERS FOR PRIME CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS ON IDB'S PROJECTS FOR PORT IMPROVEMENT AND POTABLE WATER IN PORT-AU-PRINCE (TOTAL VALUE OVER \$25 MILLION).

(VI) THE NICHOLS CLAIM AGAINST THE GOH, RESULTING FROM THE LIQUIDATION OF HABANEX A GENERATION AGO, IS FINALLY RECEIVING REGULAR REPAYMENTS OF PRINCIPAL (BUT NOT INTEREST) AFTER LONG YEARS OF STUDIED INDIFFERENCE BY THE GOH.

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PAGE 01 PORT A 00439 02 OF 04 171627Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 4 PORT AU PRINCE 0439

(VII) THE US TRADE ACT, OUR PROGRAM SET FORTH AT THE SEVENTH UNGA SPECIAL SESSION AND OUR IMPLEMENTATION OF GSP ON JANUARY 1 HAVE ADDED UP TO A SUBSTANTIAL PLUS FACTOR IN OUR RELATIONS, EVEN THOUGH HAITI'S LACKLUSTER OVER-ALL TRADE PERFORMANCE LEAVES IT UNCLEAR HOW HAITI WILL BENEFIT IN SPECIFIC TERMS. ARTICULATE HAITIANS HAVE GENERALLY INTERPRETED THESE US POLICIES AS MAJOR EFFORTS TO HELP THE THIRD WORLD, AND HAVE EXPRESSED LITTLE OR NO SKEPTICISM ABOUT THEIR EFFICACY OR ABOUT OUR MOTIVES. FOR EXAMPLE, THE HAITIANS WERE NOT TURNED ON THE THE OPEC-EXCLUSION ISSUE. BUT OF COURSE THEY CAN BE EXPECTED TO REACT EMOTIONALLY IF ANY OF OUR INVESTMENT DISPUTES (SEE 4A BELOW) SHOULD OPENLY THREATEN TO SUSPEND HAITI'S ELIGIBILITY FOR GSP.

B. GOH' GENERAL COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

(I) EXCEPT FOR WEAK SECTORS OUTLINED AT 3A AND 4A BELOW, THE GOH'S INCREASING COMMITMENT TO DEVELOPMENT IS REFLECTED IN 5-YEAR PLANNING AND IN RECENT DEVELOPMENT BUDGETS. THE HAITIAN
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PORT A 00439 02 OF 04 171627Z

CONTRIBUTION (\$37.5 MILLION) TO HAITI'S FY76 DEVELOPMENT BUDGET IS 112 PERCENT MORE THAN IN THE PREVIOUS FISCAL YEAR AND IS NEARLY AS LARGE AS THE TOTAL GOH OPERATIONS BUDGET (\$43.3 MILLION) -- SEE 75 PORT AU PRINCE 2120.

(II) GOH HAS MADE A FEW MOVES TOWARD DEALING WITH ITS VAST PROBLEM OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM. IT HAS CREATED A SPECIAL COMMISSION TO RECOMMEND REFORM PROGRAMS, AND HAS BACKED THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION (INAGHEI) MOST LIKELY TO PRODUCE GOOD CANDIDATES FOR A HIGHER-GRADE CIVIL SERVICE INSULATED FROM POLITICS. THE POSTAGE STAMP SCANDAL AND TRIAL LAST SUMMER GAVE A SIGNAL THAT LOYALTY TO DUVALIERISM WOULD NO LONGER CONFER IMMUNITY AGAINST PROSECUTION FOR MALFEASANCE IN OFFICE. A SUBSEQUENT CAMPAIGN TO CLEAN UP THE CUSTOMS ADMINISTRATION RESULTED IN DISMISSAL OF A FEW KEY OFFICIALS AND TRANSFER OF SOME 300 REDUNDANT PEOPLE OUT OF CUSTOMS TO ANOTHER GOH AGENCY; BUT THE GOH HAS SHIED AWAY FROM A PROMISED "SHOW TRIAL" OF BUSINESSMEN ALLEGEDLY GUILTY OF CHEATING THE CUSTOMS BY FALSE INVOICES, COLLUSION, ETC.

(III) IN THIS IMPROVED SETTING, FOREIGN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM VARIOUS SOURCES HAS BEEN INCREASING RAPIDLY. THE GOH HAS MADE SIGNIFICANT EFFORTS TO COORDINATE THE ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN AID PROGRAMS, BOTH IN WASHINGTON (THROUGH THE CEPCEIS MACHINERY OF OAS) AND ON THE LOCAL SCENE (PARTICULARLY THROUGH SECTORAL COORDINATION MEETINGS IN FIELDS SUCH AS PUBLIC WORKS AND PUBLIC HEALTH).

C. BILATERAL U.S. ASSISTANCE MOVES FORWARD

(I) GOH COOPERATION WITH ONGOING USAID PROJECTS IN HIGHWAY MAINTENANCE, AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, AND PUBLIC

HEALTH HAS BEEN GOOD. GOH HAS BEEN MEETING MOST OF ITS OBLIGATIONS TO PROVIDE COUNTERPART -- BOTH IN TERMS OF HUMAN EFFORT AND PERSONNEL ASSIGNED, AND ALSO IN TERMS OF FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO AGREED PROJECTS. E.G. GOH CASH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SNEM PROGRAM HAVE DOUBLED IN CURRENT BUDGET AS COMPARED WITH LAST FY, AND SUBSTANTIAL INCREASES HAVE BEEN PROGRAMMED IN OTHER PROJECTS (HACHO IN PARTICULAR).

(II) IN THE SETTING, FORWARD PLANNING FOR FUTURE ASSISTANCE IS PROCEEDING APACE, WITH AID CONCENTRATING ON FOLLOW-ON GRANTS
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PORT A 00439 02 OF 04 171627Z

AND LOANS FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT (PARTICULARLY REHABILITATION OF IRRIGATION SYSTEMS AND FARM-TO-MARKET ROADS) AS WELL AS FOR PUBLIC HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING. OTHER MAJOR DONORS ARE DOING LIKEWISE. COMPETITION FOR AVAILABLE HAITIAN COUNTERPART WILL BECOME MORE INTENSE, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF COORDINATION WILL INCREASE
.

(III) EMERGENCY DROUGHT RELIEF FOR HAITI'S POVERTY-STRICKEN NORTHWEST PROVINCE HAS BEEN EFFECTIVE, THANKS LARGELY TO CARE/ HAITI'S ORGANIZING EFFORT. THIS EMERGENCY PROGRAM WAS ADEQUATELY SUPPORTED BY THE GOH (DESPITE OCCASIONAL BUREAUCRATIC LAPSES OR SQUABBLES). THE PROMPT U.S. RESPONSE TO THIS EMERGENCY, FOLLOWED UP BY A PERSONAL VISIT BY AID ADMINISTRATOR PARKER, HAS GREATLY STRENGTHENED HAITIAN CONFIDENCE IN THE REVIVED U.S. ROLE IN THE MULTI-FACETED DEVELOPMENT EFFORT NOW UNDER WAY IN HAITI.

(IV) SINCE THE SPRING OF 1975, THE U.S. HAS INITIATED ITS FIRST PL 480 TITLE I PROGRAM IN HAITI, TO GOOD EFFECT AND UNDER CONTROLS WHICH PRESS THE GOH TO UNDERTAKE GREATER AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS OF ITS OWN, MADE POSSIBLE BY NEW LOCAL CURRENCY AVAILABILITIES GENERATED BY THE SALE OF TITLE I COMMODITIES.

D. GOH POSTURE IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

(I) IN THE UNITED NATIONS, HAITI HAS SUPPORTED THE U.S. ON THE KEY ISSUES, CONFINING ITS ABSTENTIONS OR ABSENCES MAINLY TO AFRICAN ISSUES WHERE IT WOULD HAVE FELT KEEN DISCOMFORT AT BEING OUT OF LINE WITH MOST AFRICAN COUNTRIES. THOUGH INCREASINGLY DESIROUS OF STATUS AS A THIRD-WORLD MEMBER IN GOOD STANDING, HAITI HAS FIRMLY REJECTED ANY ROLE OF GENERAL SUPPORT FOR THIRD-WORLD RADICALISM OR FOR CONFRONTATIONAL TACTICS IN THE UN, AND MAY EVEN ENVISAGE FOR ITSELF A MODEST ROLE AS MEDIATOR ON NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES.

(II) ON LAW-OF-THE-SEA ISSUE, HAITI SEEMS TO HAVE COME CLOSER TO U.S. POSITIONS THAN MOST OTHER THIRD-WORLD NATIONS. SO FAR AS WE CAN JUDGE, HAITI HAS BEEN CLOSER TO US THAN ANY OTHER CARIBBEAN COUNTRY.

(III) HAITI'S DISTASTE FOR JOINING CONFRONTATIONAL CAMPAIGNS
AGAINST THE U.S. HAS CAUSED IT TO PLAY A LOW-KEY ROLE IN THE OAS
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 PORT A 00439 02 OF 04 171627Z

AND IN THE NEWLY-ORGANIZED SELA. THE GOH GENERALLY SEEMS TO
SHARE U.S. VIEWS ON EFFORTS TO REFORM THE OAS.

(IV) GENERALLY SPEAKING, THE GOH POSTURE IN THESE FORA
HAS BEEN A MAJOR PLUS FACTOR IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, TAKING
INTO ACCOUNT HAITI'S STRONGY-FELT VIEWS ON NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND
ON THE NEEDS OF LOW-INCOME COUNTRIES. WE HAVE HAD NO RECENT
OCCASION TO CONVEY SIGNIFICANT COMPLAINTS TO THE GOH ABOUT VOTES
REGISTERED BY ITS REPRESENTATIVES (THOUGH WE HAVE SOMETIMES HAD
TO PRESS THE GOH TO ASSURE THEIR PRESENCE FOR SOME SIGNIFICANT VOTES)

E. SECURITY AND LEGAL COOPERATION

(I) SINCE EARLY SUMMER OF 1975, A SMALL PROGRAM OF GRANT
TRAINING UNDER MAP HAS BEEN UNDERWAY, FOCUSED ON IMPROVING THE
HAITIAN ARMED FORCES' LOW CAPABILITIES FOR SEARCH AND RESCUE.
THOUGH THE PROGRAM IS SMALL IN SCALE AND IS UNDERGOING ADMINI-
STRATIVE DELAYS SUCH AS THE NEED TO QUALIFY TRAINEES IN ENGLISH,
IT HAS ALREADY BROUGHT OUT A RADICALLY MORE COOPERATIVE HAITIAN
ATTITUDE IN RESPONDING, WITHIN THEIR EXISTING CAPABILITIES, TO
MARINERS IN DISTRESS AND TO CALLS FROM THE US COAST GUARD FOR
ASSISTANCE IN PATROLLING.

(II) IN THE FIELD OF NARCOTICS CONTROL (WHERE HAITI PRESENTS
A MINIMAL PROBLEM), TWO KEY HAITIAN ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS RECEIVED
ADVANCED TRAINING IN THE U.S. IN 1975, WITH APPARENTLY BENEFICIAL
RESULTS. THEY ARE PRESSING TO FORM A NARCOTICS CONTROL TRAINING
CENTER IN HAITI'S PRINCIPAL POLICE FORCE. AND THEY MAY HAVE BEEN
INSTRUMENTAL IN THE GOH'S ENACTMENT, LATE IN 1975, OF COMPREHENSIVE
NEW LEGISLATION ON DRUG ABUSE. THE NEW HAITIAN LAW SPECIFES
OFFENSES AND PENALTIES FOR THE FIRST TIME IN AN ORDERLY MANNER,
PROVIDES FOR GREATER SURVEILLANCE OF THOSE WHO HANDLE LEGITMATE
DRUGS, AND LOOKS TOWARD REHABILITATIVE TREATMENT FOR ADDICTS.

(III) COOPERATION BY THE US POSTAL SERVICE IN INVESTIGATION
OF ACTIVITIES IN THE U.S. CONNECTED WITH HAITI'S STAMP FRAUD AFFAIR
SEEMS TO HAVE SATISFIED THE GOH (EVEN THOUGH THE TRIAL BEGAN IN
HAITI BEFORE DEFINITIVE RESULTS WERE AVAILABLE).

(IV) ASSISTANCE BY US SEABEES IN EXPEDITING A ROAD-
CONFIDENTIAL
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PAGE 05 PORT A 00439 02 OF 04 171627Z

BUILDING PROJECT NEAR LES CAYES WAS WARMLY RECEIVED IN THE

ISOLATED AREAS THE ROAD WILL SERVE. THIS WAS AN EXAMPLE OF SMALL-SCALE COOPERATION OUTSIDE THE REGULAR AID FRAMEWORK, IN WHICH A SKILLED U.S. UNIT DEMONSTRATED TO THE HAITIANS WHAT "CIVIC ACTION" IS ALL ABOUT (WE HOPE FOR SOME EMULATION BY HAITIAN MILITARY ENGINEERS).

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 PORT A 00439 03 OF 04 171657Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 4 PORT AU PRINCE 0439

(V) IN 1975, NO NEW SECURITY INCIDENTS OCCURRED (LIKE THE SERIES OF SCATTERED BOMBINGS IN 1974) INVOLVING HOSTILE ACTIVITIES BY HAITIAN DISSIDENTS PREPARED ON U.S. TERRITORY. THE GOH SEEMS CONVINCED THAT U.S. AUTHORITIES DID ALL THEY COULD TO BRING THE PERPETRATORS TO JUSTICE, AND HAS BEEN LESS JITTERY ABOUT THIS KIND OF FACTOR IN US-HAITIAN RELATIONS.

F.CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

(I) HAITIAN RESPONSE HAS BEEN HIGHLY FAVORABLE TO THE VARIETY OF PROGRAMS OFFERED BY THE BINATIONAL CENTER -- LECTURES AND DISCUSSION GROUPS (SOME OF THEM INFRENCH); MUSICAL PERFORMANCES (INCLUDING THE ELVIN JONES QUARTET, SPONSORED BY

SEVERAL USIS POSTS IN THE AREA, THE FIRST SUCH ATTRACTION TO APPEAR IN HAITI IN 8 YEARS); IMPROVED LIBRARY SERVICES (WITH AN UPGRADED FRENCH-LANGUAGE COLLECTION); AND RECORD-BREAKING ENROLLMENT IN THE CENTER'S ENGLISH CLASSES.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 PORT A 00439 03 OF 04 171657Z

(II) WE ARE GETTING MORE VISIBLE FEEDBACK FROM OUR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS SENT TO THE U.S., IN THE FORM OF EXTENSIVE ARTICLES WRITTEN FOR THE HAITIAN PRESS ON THEIR RETURN.

(III) THE AMBASSADOR'S PRESS CONFERENCES ON SELECTED SUBJECTS, HIS SOIREES FEATURING ARTISTS OR DISCUSSION ON SPECIFIC TOPICS, AND HIS OTHER REPRESENTATIONAL ACTIVITIES HAVE ADDED HIS PERSONAL TOUCH IN THIS FIELD IN A PROMINENT AND WELL-RECEIVED WAY.

(IV) THERE IS AN ACTIVE HAITIAN INTEREST IN THE US BICENTENNIAL, AND A US/HAITIAN LINKAGE WILL BE COMMEMORATED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

G. IMPROVED REPRESENTATION OF HAITIAN INTERESTS IN U.S.

(I) AMBASSADOR GEORGES SALOMON HAS PERFORMED FAR MORE EFFECTIVELY THAN HIS PREDECESSOR, GIVING HAITIAN A MORE SERIOUS IMAGE AND CULTIVATING CONGRESSMEN AND OTHERS WHOSE VIEWS ABOUT HAITI COULD BE CRITICAL.

(II) THE GOH HAS BEEN PLEASED WITH WASHINGTON'S APPROVAL OF A HAITIAN CONSULATE FOR ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

3. AREAS SHOWING MIXED TRENDS OR NEW PROBLEMS

A. HAITI'S CURENT ECONOMIC PERFORMANCES

(I) THOUGH HAITI'S BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IS SEASONABLY IMPROVING WITH INCREASED EARNINGS FROM COFFEE, BAUXITE, AND SOME OTHER PRODUCTS (FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES HAVE TEMPORARILY RISEN TO \$16 MILLION), THE GOH'S BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS MANAGEMENT FELL BELOW PREVIOUS STANDARDS IN 1975, MAINLY BECAUSE OF UNDISCIPLINED EXPANSION OF CREDIT TO ERICSSON FOR HAITI'S COELLY TELECOMMUNICATIONS PROJECT. IT IS STILL NOT CLEAR WHETHER HAITI WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE DRAWINGS UNDER ITS CURRENT STAND-BY ARRANGEMENT WITH THE IMF (THOUGH OTHER IMF RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE AND SUFFICIENT FOR THE SHORT TERM).

(II) STAGNATION PERSISTS IN LARGE AREAS OF THE HAITIAN ECONOMY, PARTICULARLY IN THE OUTLYING PROVINCES AND IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR, WHILE PRICES OF PRODUCTS CONSUMED BY THE LOWEST-INCOME GROUPS HAVE BEEN RISING INEXORABLY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PORT A 00439 03 OF 04 171657Z

(III) 1975 BROUGHT NO INFLOW OF PRIVATE FOREIGN INVESTMENT COMMENSURATE WITH THE GROWTH OF OFFICIAL FOREIGN AID. THOUGH THE GOH IS GENERALLY RECEPTIVE TO FOREIGN INVESTMENT, IT HAS FAILED TO ORGANIZE ITSELF EFFECTIVELY TO ROVKE FOREIGN INVESTMENT, AND TO CREATE CONFIDENCE WHICH WOULD OVERCOME THE BURDEN OF PAST FAILURES AND DISPUTES. MEANWHILE, IT HAS ENACTED A 1975 LAW WHICH SPECIFIES LIMITS ON OWNERSHIP OF LAND BY FOREIGNERS, BOT FOR RESIDENTIAL USE AND ALSO FOR AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT. THIS LAW HAS RAISED A GOOD MANY QUESTIONS AFFECTING INVESTMENT AND BANKING DECISIONS WHICH REMAIN UNANSWERED.

(IV) THE GOH HAS WAVERED BACK AND FORTH IN HIS HANDLING OF CERTAIN REGULATED ENTERPRISES. THESE INCLUDE THE COSTLY TELECOMMUNICATIONS PROJECT, WHERE THE PRESIDENT'S DESIRE FOR UTMOST MODERNIZATION OVERRODE THE NEED TO ECONOMIZIE USES OF HAITI'S LIMITED FINANCIAL RESOURCES AND TO SUBJECT THEM TO PRIORITIES. BELATEDLY, THE GOH IS NOW SEEKING AN IDB LOAN AND INDEPENDENT FOREIGN SUPERVISION OF THE PROJECT. IN CIVIL AVIATION, THE GOH RETREATED AT THE LAST MOMENT FROM AN ILL-CONSIDERED MOVE TO CANCEL WITHOUT NOTICE THE OPERATIONAL ROLE OF TURKS AND CAICOS AIRWAYS (HAITI AIR INTER'S ONLY RELIABLE OPERATORS). A BETTER-QUALIFIED CIVIL AIR ADMINISTRATOR HAS RECENTLY BEEN APPOINTED, AND THE GOH HAS AT LEAST TEMPORARILY CEASED ITS PRESSURE TO OBTAIN U.S. LANDING RIGHTS FOR HAITI AIR TRANSPORT, WHOSE ABILITY TO PROVIDE REGULAR SERVICE IS DUBIOUS. IN TELEVISION, GOH POLICY HAS PRODUCED NEITHER A GROWTH OF SERVICE BY COMPETITION NOR SATISFACTORY OPERATING CONDITIONS FOR TELE-HAITI (SEE 4A BELOW).

B. HUMAN RIGHTS

(I) WITHIN UNSPOKEN LIMITS, THE GOH HAS ALLOWED INCREASED FREEDOM OF CRITICAL EXPRESSION IN THE PRESS AND IN PUBLIC MEETINGS. CONTRARY TO ALL PREVIOUS DUVALIERIST TRADITIONS, THE PRESIDENT ALLOWED

THE 1975 STAMP FRAUD TRIAL TO RUN AN UNIMPEDED COURSE -- INCLUDING A PLETHORA OF PUBLIC COMMENTS CRITICAL OF EARLY DUVALIERIST EXCESSES, AND CULMINATING IN THE ACQUITTAL OF THE CABINET MINISTER WHOM DUVALIER

HAD ARRESTED. MEANWHILE PETIT SAMEDI SOIR, A SMALL AVANT-GARDE WEEKLY, HAS DARED TO CONTINUE ITS CRITICAL COMMENTARIES AND EVEN
CONFIDENTIAL
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PAGE 04 PORT A 00439 03 OF 04 171657Z

TO PROD THE GOH INTO CORRECTIVE ACTIONS, INCLUDING THE ARREST OF HITHERTO SACROSANCT VSN MILITIAMEN FOR A CRIME THEY RECENTLY COMMITTED AGAINST PEASANT FARMERS IN REMOTE LES IROIS.

(II) NOT ONLY IN THE STAMP FRAUD TRIAL BUT ALSO IN VARIOUS ACTIONS TO APPLY JUSTICE TO SEIZURES OF LAND BY PETTY STRONG MEN,

THE GOH HAS BEEN MAKING A SUSTAINED EFFORT TO BRING REGULAR PROCEDURAL JUSTICE BACK TO A NORMAL ROLE IN HAITI, WHERE IT HAD VIRTUALLY DISAPPEARED FROM THE SCENE IN THE 1960'S.

(III) WHILE GUARDING AGAINST WHOLESAL REPRESSION OF OPPOSITION, THE GOH IS MAINTAINING A RESTRAINED SURVEILLANCE OF DISSIDENTS SUSPECTED OF ACTUAL SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING OCCASIONAL UNEXPLAINED ARRESTS AND SUMMARY DEPORTATIONS OF SUSPECTED HAITIAN EXPATRIATES WHO RETURN TO VISIT HAITI.

(IV) IN THE FIFTH IN HIS SERIES OF AMNESTIES, PRESIDENT DUVALIER RELEASED 31 MORE PRISONERS ON DECEMBER 22, 1975-- INCLUDING SEVERAL INCARCERATED FOR POLITICAL REASONS. THUS, HE HAS CLEARLY WHITTLED DOWN THE NUMBER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS REMAINING IN CUSTODY, BUT THAT NUMBER REMAINS SHROUDED IN MYSTERY AND THERE HAS BEEN NO "WHITE PAPER" TO CLEAR UP THE ISSUE. THERE SEEMS TO BE A GROWING RECOGNITION WITHIN THE GOH, HOWEVER, THAT RELATIVES OF HAITIANS WHO DIED IN JAIL SHOULD RECEIVE A FORMAL NOTIFICATION AFTER THE FACT.

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PAGE 01 PORT A 00439 04 OF 04 171720Z

45

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

AID-05 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03

CIEP-01 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 AGR-05 OES-03 IO-11

DLOS-04 SNM-02 SY-05 CU-02 DHA-02 INSE-00 SCS-03

SCA-01 VO-03 PC-01 /126 W

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FM AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1534

INFO AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO

AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 4 PORT AU PRINCE 0439

(V) GOH TREATMENT OF ECONOMIC REFUGEES DEPORTED BACK TO HAITI HAS BEEN CORRECT, AND HAS BEEN OPENED UP TO OBSERVATION AND TO A DEGREE OF VERIFICATION BY THE US EMBASSY. THERE HAVE BEEN NO REPRISALS FOR ILLEGAL DEPARTURE -- ONLY AN INVESTIGATIVE EFFORT TO IDENTIFY THE ORGANIZERS WHO ARE TURNING A PROFIT ON THE IGNORANCE OF THOSE WHO ATTEMPT ILLEGAL ENTRY BY SAILBOAT INTO THE US AND CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES.

(VUQL THE GOH REMAINS BRISTLY, HOWEVER, IN THE FACE OF REQUESTS BY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL FOR INFORMATION ABOUT HAITIANS ARRESTED YEARS AGO; BY NON-RESPONSE, IT TACITLY RESISTS INCURSIONS INTO WHAT IT REGARDS AS PURELY INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

C. US CITIZEN PROTECTION

(I) AFTER A FEW CASES IN 1975 IN WHICH THE EMBASSY DID NOT GET PROMPT CONSULAR ACCESS TO AMERICAN CITIZENS UNDER TEMPORARY ARREST, KEY GOH MINISTERS HAVE GIVEN ASSURANCES THAT WE WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL
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PAGE 02 PORT A 00439 04 OF 04 171720Z

PROMPTLY NOTIFIED IN FUTURE CASES AND GIVEN ACCESS WITHIN REASONABLE TIME. THERE MAY, OF COURSE, BE AN OCCASIONAL FUTURE LASPE DUE TO INCOMPETENT POLICE OFFICERS AND POOR COMMUNICATIONS FROM PROVINCIAL POSTS.

(II) WE HAVE ALSO MADE REPRESENTATIONS ABOUT ARBITRARY POLICE TREATMENT OF US YACHTSMEN WHO CALL AT ISOLATED SMALL PORTS ON HAITIAN SHORES. THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR HAS SENT CORRECTIVE INSTRUCTIONS.

(III) UNDER INTERIOR MINISTER BLANCHET, ISSUANCE OF ANNUAL RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR RESIDENT FOREIGNERS, INCLUDING AMERICANS, REMAINS A HIGHLY UNCERTAIN PROCESS, FRAUGHT WITH UNEXPLAINED DELAYS. BY AND LARGE, AMERICANS MANAGE TO MUDDLE THROUGH.

D. IMMIGRATION AND CONSULAR POSTURE

OUR CONSULAR SECTION IS OBLIGED TO COPE WITH VISA PUSHING, MASSIVE AND INCREASING FRAUD, AND OCCASIONALLY UNRULY CROWDS IN CARRYING OUT ITS DUTY TO ISSUE VISAS ONLY TO ELIGIBLE APPLICANTS. DISAPPOINTED APPLICANTS AND INTERMEDIARIES RECENTLY INDUCED THE FOREIGN MINISTER (APPARENTLY PRESSURED BY THE PALACE) TO QUESTION OUR METHODS IN A MANNER BORDERING ON AD HOMINE VERBAL ATTACKS ON INDIVIDUAL CONSULAR OFFICERS. WE INTEND TO CARRY OUT FULLY THE LETTER AND INTENT OF OUR IMMIGRATION LAWS, BUT ARE EXPLORING NEW WAYS OF HANDLING THE PUBLIC RELATIONS PROBLEMS INVOLVED -- E.G. NEW PROCEDURES FOR SCHEDULING APPOINTMENTS FOR NON-IMMIGRANT VISA APPLICANTS, AND MEASURES TO EXPLAIN TO THE HAITIAN PUBLIC SOME DETAILED ASPECTS OF OUR IMMIGRATION POLICY AND PROCEDURES WHICH ARE FREQUENTLY MISUNDERSTOOD AND WHICH LEAD TO ACUTE

DISAPPOINTMENT. MEANWHILE, WE BELIEVE WE HAVE PERSUADED THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND OTHER KEY OFFICIALS THAT THERE IS NOTHING DISCRIMINATORY OR UNFAIR ABOUT THE WAY THIS MISSION IS APPLYING THE IMMIGRATION LAWS. WE ALSO DETECT SOME FALL-OFF IN THE VOLUME OF DIRECT INFLUENCE-PEDDLING ON VISA MATTERS, IN THE FACE OF OUR DETERMINATION TO SHOW THAT IT WILL NOT WORK.

4. AREAS SHOWING LITTLE OR NO PROGRESS

A. INVESTORS' DISPUTES WITH GOH

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PAGE 03 PORT A 00439 04 OF 04 171720Z

(I) TELEHAITI: THIS DISPUTE IS STILL UNRESOLVED, AS THE GOH HAS GIVEN NO RESPONSE TO THE COMPANY'S VARIOUS OFFERS TO ACCEPT LOSS OF EXCLUSIVE RIGHTS IN RETURN FOR GOVERNMENTAL DECISIONS WHICH WOULD ENABLE IT TO OPERATE PROFITABLY.

(II) DUPONT CARIBBEAN: THE GOH REMAINS STRONGLY ATTACHED TO ITS VIEW THAT THE HAITIAN SUPREME COURT'S DECISION CLOSED THE CASE, AND THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO REOPEN IT WOULD INJURE HAITI'S SOVEREIGN RIGHTS. GOH HAS NOT YET RESPONDED TO OUR RECENT ARGUMENT THAT SUBMITTING THE DISPUTE TO ARBITRATION BY A FAIR-MINDED THIRD-PARTY INSTITUTION SUCH AS ICSID WOULD AVERT ANY APPLICATION OF US LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS ON EXPROPRIATORY ACTIONS.

(III) TRANSLINEAR: THE STATUS OF THIS CASE IS NOW UNCLEAR, SINCE THE COMPANY HAS BEEN OUT OF TOUCH FOR MONTHS WITH THE EMBASSY OR USG. ITS SILENCE MAY SIGNIFY THAT TALKS WITH THE GOH ON A NEW CONTRACT FOR DEVELOPING LA TORTUE ISLAND MAY NOT HAVE BEEN DEFINITELY BROKEN OFF.

(IV) IN A DIFFERENT CATEGORY, AEROTRADE (THE ARMS DEALER) CONTINUES TO APPEAL TO US PUBLIC AUTHORITIES TO SUPPORT ITS DEMANDS FOR PAYMENT, AND HAS REPORTEDLY SUCCEEDED IN GETTING SOME GOH ASSETS BLOCKED IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. THIS IS A DEBT WHICH THE GOH DOES NOT ACKNOWLEDGE, ON GROUNDS THAT THE COMPANY CHEATED THE GOH WITH INFERIOR DELIVERIES. AS IN THE DUPONT CARIBBEAN CASE, THE GOH REFUSES TO ALLEVIATE MATTERS BY ENGAGING IN ANY DISCUSSION WITH THE COMPANY.

B. REGIE DU TABAC

(I) PRESIDENT DUVALIER HAS APPARENTLY CONCURRED IN A PLAN TO DIVERT REGIE TAXES ON COMMODITIES FURNISHED UNDER PL 480 TITLE I INTO AN IDENTIFIABLE SPECIAL FUND TO BE USED FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE FY 76 TITLE I PROGRAM, NOW BEGINNING, WILL REVEAL WHETHER THIS PROMISE WILL BE HONORED.

(II) THERE HAS BEEN RECENT EVIDENCE OF SOME REGIE EXPENDITURES FOR DEVELOPMENT-RELATED ACTIVITIES: I.E. A NEW

SECONDARY SCHOOL AT LEOGANE, AND REGIE FINANCING OF INTERNAL
TRANSPORT COSTS FOR FOREIGN RELIEF COMMODITIES SHIPPED FROM
PORT-AU-PRINCE TO THE DROUGH-STRICKEN NORTHWEST.
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PAGE 04 PORT A 00439 04 OF 04 171720Z

(III) DESPITE THESE CHINKS IN THE REGIE'S ARMOR, ALL SIGNS
ARE THAT THE GENERAL QUESTION OF FISCALIZING OR EVEN PUBLISHING THE
REGIE'S MULTIFARIOUS RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES IS REGARDED BY THE
PALACE AS AN INTRUSION ON NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND AS A POTENTIAL
ASSAULT ON THE PRESIDENCY'S TRADITIONAL MANNER OF FIANCING
POLITICALLY IMPORTANT ACTIVITIES. THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRESIDENT'S
MOTHER AND OF REGIE ADMINISTRATOR SICLAIT SEEM TO DOMINATE
THE PRESIDENT'S THINKING ON THE REGIE, AND KEY CABINET MINISTERS
REMAIN UNABLE OR UNWILLING TO ENGAGE THE ISSUE OF MOBILIZING
THESE RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT ON ANY SIGNIFICANT SCALE.

C. NAVASSA ISLAND

ALTHOUGH THE DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN WORKING ON THE QUESTION
OF RENOUNCING ANY US CLAIM TO THE ISLAND IN FAVOR OF HAITI, AND THERE
HAVE BEEN CONSULTATIONS WITH CONGRESS, THE PROCESS IS MOVING
SLOWLY AND WE HAVE MADE NO OFFICIAL RESPONSE YET TO THE GOH'S
DEMARCHE OF DECEMBER 1974 REQUESTING THE OPENING OF DISCUSSIONS.

D. PEACE CORPS

THE GOH SEEMS LOATH TO GIVE ANY RESPONSE WHATSOEVER
TO OUR REPEATED ROUNDS OF DISCUSSIONS EXPLAINING WHAT A PEACE
CORPS PROGRAM COULD ACCOMPLISH IN HAITI, IF REQUESTED BY THE
GOH. THE PRESIDENT'S PREVIOUS RELUCTANCE (OR THAT OF HIS SECURITY
ADVISERS) MAY HAVE BEEN REINFORCED BY CURRENT REPORTS THAT FRENCH
COOPERANTS IN HAITI HAVE BEEN SPREADING MARXIST IDEAS AMONG YOUNG
HAITIANS. WE ARE ABOUT TO DELIVER THE DEPARTMENT'S REFINED AND
APPROVED VERSION OF A DRAFT AGREEMENT FOR HAITI AND WILL INQUIRE
ONCE AGAIN ABOUT THE GOH'S INTENTIONS. WE SENSE, HOWEVER,
THAT THERE WILL BE NO RESPONSE, AND THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD
RESIST ANY FURTHER ATTEMPT TO DRAW HIM INTO A DISCUSSION OF
THE PROS AND CONS OF A PEACE CORPS PRESENCE IN HAITI. INDEED,
WE SENSE FURTHER THAT, IN SOME OBSCURE FASHION, THE HAITIANS
LOOK ON THE PEACE CORPS AS A POTENTIALLY DESTABLIZING OR AT
LEAST RISKY ELEMENT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE WHERE, IN ANY EVENT,
GREAT CHANGES IN PEASANT FARMER ATTITUDES MAY FOLLOW THE
EXTENSIVE INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE PROJECTED FOR HAITI IN RURAL
DEVELOPMENT, HEALTH, AND EDUCATION DURING THE COMING DECADE.
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PAGE 05 PORT A 00439 04 OF 04 171720Z

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